FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

NORTH CAROLINA

PART 10 OF 15

BUFILE NUMBER: 105-165706

BLACK PANTHER PARTY -

NORTH CAROLINA

FBIHQ FILE 105-165706-8

Section 9

FD-263 (Rev. 12-11-67)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE	OFFICE OF ORIGIN	DATE	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD
CHARLOTTE	SAN FRANCISCO	1/22/71	11/12/70 - 1/13/71

TITLE OF CASE
BLACK PANTHER PARTY (BPP)

REPORT MADE BY: SA [redacted] TYPED BY: jeb

CHARACTER OF CASE
RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

REFERENCE:

Charlotte report of SA THOMAS H. GEORGE 11/25/70.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

This report is classified Confidential to protect sources whose identities or compromise could adversely affect the National Defense interest of the United States.

Do Not Disseminate This Report

ACCOMPLISHMENTS CLAIMED						☐ NONE	ACQUITTALS	CASE HAS BEEN:
CONVIC.	AUTO.	FUG.	FINES	SAVINGS	RECOVERIES			PENDING OVER ONE YEAR ☐ YES ☐ NO PENDING PROSECUTION OVER SIX MONTHS ☐ YES ☐ NO

APPROVED: [signature] SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

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105-165706-8-404 REC-48
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Notations: Redistributed [illegible] RACIAL INT. SECT.

60 MAR 8 1971

COVER PAGE

CE 157-6171

INFORMANTS:

Identi[redacted] Location:

[redacted]

All of the above are permanently assigned T symbols. SF T-16, SF T-22 and WF T-10 are technical installations authorized by the Attorney General of the United States and

any information obtained, if to be made public, must be introduced by the Special Agent of the particular office having made the pertinent transcript.

Unless otherwise noted, investigation at Winston-Salem, N. C., was by SA [redacted] at High Point, N. C., by SA [redacted] and at Chapel Hill, N. C., by SA [redacted]

LEADS:

CHARLOTTE

AT HIGH POINT AND WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Will follow activities of Black Panther Party.

AT CHARLOTTE, N. C.

Will submit monthly report.

COVER PAGE

FD-204 (Rev. 3-3-59)

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: SA [redacted]
Date: January 22, 1971

Office: CHARLOTTE

Field Office File #: CE 157-6171

Bureau File #: 105-165706 Sub 8

Title: BLACK PANTHER PARTY

Character: RACIAL MATTERS; SMITH ACT OF 1940; SEDITIOUS CONSPIRACY; REBELLION AND INSURRECTION

Synopsis: The Winston-Salem National Committee to Combat Fascism operates as a Black Panther Party affiliated group at Winston-Salem, N. C., and furnishes leadership for activities at High Point, Chapel Hill, and Lumberton, N. C. Former headquarters at 1602 E. Fourteenth Street burned 11/27/70 and activities were moved to 1616 E. 23rd Street and 1127 E. 23rd Street, in addition to another house at 1386 Wilson Street. Group has obtained weapons, fortified their headquarters, and receives and sells the Black Panther Party newspaper.

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CE 157-6171

DETAILS:

Characterizations of the Black Panther Party, Students for a Democratic Society, and Young Socialist Alliance, are attached as appendices to this report.

I. REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAM AND POLICIES AS EXPRESSED BY BLACK PANTHER PARTY LEADERS

On November 27, 1970, [redacted] reported that at approximately 12 noon, one rental truck bearing North Carolina License [redacted] a white Thunderbird bearing North Carolina License [redacted] a red Dodge bearing North Carolina License [redacted] and a Volkswagen Station Wagon bearing North Carolina License [redacted] departed the National Committee to Combat Fascism (NCCF) Headquarters at Winston-Salem, apparently en route to Washington, D. C. No estimate could be made of the exact number of people in the group.

Records of the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles (NCDMV), as obtained from the Charlotte, North Carolina, Police Department, indicate that North Carolina License [redacted] is registered to a 1960 Ford Sedan to [redacted] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; that North Carolina License [redacted] is registered to a 1965 Dodge two-door in the name of [redacted] North Carolina; that North Carolina License [redacted] is registered to a 1967 Volkswagen Station Wagon to [redacted] Winston-Salem, North Carolina; and that North Carolina License 2594-H is registered to a 1968 International Truck owned by Truck Leasing Service, 507 Arlington Street, Greensboro, North Carolina.

On November 27, 1970, [redacted] reported that LARRY LITTLE of the Winston-Salem, North Carolina, National Committee to Combat Fascism, had made inquiries of a number of bus lines concerning the leasing of a bus for a trip to Washington, D. C. LITTLE was offered a bus by [redacted]; however, he failed to recontact the bus line to obtain a bus and his method of transportation to Washington, D. C., is not known to [redacted]

[redacted] who has knowledge of activities at Chapel Hill and Durham, North Carolina, reported that on November 25, 1970, approximately twenty individuals, all white members of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), New University Conference, Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) or other such group, plan to travel to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention (RPCC) with this travel to be made by regionally owned automobiles. Exact details were not known to [redacted]

[redacted] reported the following information:

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On November 27, 1970, the Southern Section of the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention registered at the All Saints Unitarian Church located at Sixteenth Street and Harvard Avenue, Washington, D. C. There were approximately seventy five to one hundred persons there at about 9 a.m., sixty per cent of which were white.

Two security guards were observed at each entrance to the church. No one with a camera was permitted to enter and one person who endeavored to do so was bodily thrown out. No fee was charged for registration, but donations for the Black Panther Party were received and most people gave $5 or more.

Upon registration, the normal registration packet was not provided, instead each person was given a slip of paper reflecting the registration, but containing no instructions. Those people who registered were told to wait and most did so throughout the morning without receiving any instructions whatsoever.

Among those observed outside the church were the following:

[redacted].

Cars, operated in the area by the white persons seeking to attend the convention, bore license numbers including South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia.

There were persons in the area selling books such as Education and Revolution by ELDRIDGE CLEAVER, The Ideology of the BPP, Capitalism Dope Equals Genicide, and We The People. Also being sold in the area were newspapers including Rise Up in Anger of the Women's Liberation, The Quick Silver Times, The Militant, and the BPP paper.

On November 27, 1970, after lunch, the group continued to hang around the Unitarian Church until about 4:45 p.m. No significant instructions were received. Many of those present were furious at the lack of organization. However, it was announced that there would be a mass meeting in the Malcolm X Park at Seventeenth Street and Euclid Street that night.

There a person, referred to as "BIG MAN", spoke. He told how Howard University should have let the Black Panther Party hold the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on campus free. His talk and the activities in the park concluded by about 9 p.m.

"BIG MAN" appeared to be a Negro male, twenty five to twenty seven years of age, six feet three inches tall, weighing 200 pounds, with an Afro hairdo and a Vandyke beard with a very black complexion.

On Saturday, November 28, 1970, approximately one thousand persons were gathered at the Unitarian Church. Most of those present, a large number of whom were white, broke into small discussion groups on an informal basis as there was again no formal program or workshop.

Sometime during the morning, approximately five members from the Black Panther Party, including a person identified as MICHAEL TARBOR, from New York, New York, appeared briefly and announced that the constitution would be read at Saint Stevens Episcopal Church that night.

At approximately 7:15 p.m., November 28, 1970, Saint Stevens Episcopal Church in Washington, D. C., was filled to capacity. In addition, microphones were set up to play to people in the yard outside. MICHAEL TARBOR did most of the talking. He gave a brief background of the various workshops in connection with the creation of the constitution. Included in these workshops were the following:

Women's Liberation

Gay Liberation

Women In General

E. C. Women

Means of Production

Control of Land

Control of Military

Internationalism

Self-Determination for Street People

Self-Determination for National Minorities

Children's Rights

Revolutionary Artists

Religious Repression

Drugs

Health

Education

Legal System

Political Prisons

A list of information centers was furnished and the constitution read.

On Sunday, November 29, 1970, a number of persons reassembled at the church. However, mostly white radicals were present. Again there was no formal meeting or announcements.

In general, the tenure of those present was the expression of a general disgust toward the United States Government and expressed preference for Communism. Since the black people were a minority, it was necessary for them, including those led by the Black Panther Party, to combine with the white radicals against the establishment. This group indicated a hope for support from Russia and other Marxist nations.

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On December 4, 1970, [redacted] advised that approximately twenty people from Winston-Salem, North Carolina, traveled to the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention in three cars and a Hertz truck. They arrived late because a wheel came off the truck near Henderson, North Carolina, and the Black Panther Party members from Winston-Salem are accusing the Federal Bureau of Investigation and Hertz of collusion due to this vehicle's failure. It was determined that the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention was described by those in attendance as being a disorganized fiasco and most of the members from Winston-Salem were put to work on their arrival at such places as a medical clinic or typing, filing, and so forth. U

On [redacted] reported that JAMES ARTHUR BOWERS and RUSSELL EDWARD MCDONALD were the only known individuals from the Lumberton, North Carolina, area, who attended the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention during the Thanksgiving weekend. As of [redacted], these two had not returned to Lumberton and there was some indication that a Panther member from New York will come with them when they do return. U

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

[redacted]

[redacted] advised that he first joined the BPP in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, [redacted], at which time ROBERT GREER was the head man. [redacted] stated that, since GREER [redacted] left the BPP, the unit in Winston-Salem, North Carolina, has been falling apart. [redacted]

[redacted] named the following individuals as members and sympathizers that he knew of in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina:

LARRY LITTLE [redacted]

JULIUS CORNELL [redacted]

BATESTI

JESSE STITT

[redacted] Winston-Salem, N. C. [redacted] -

On _____ at _____ File # _____

SA [redacted]

SA [redacted] /stp

by _____ Date dictated [redacted]

[redacted]

ROBERT GREER [redacted]

NELSON HALLOY [redacted]

HAZEL HACK

DANIEL SMITH

ED McQUEEN [redacted]

LEE FAYE HACK

RICKIE HOOPER [redacted]

NANCY SMITH

JAMES FORD [redacted]

[redacted] advised that CLARA and RUTH HACK are not members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as LEE FAYE HACK did not want them to join. [redacted] advised that LEE FAYE HACK is not actually a member of the BPP but helps them in many ways. [redacted] advised that BATESTI, JESSE STITT, and ROBERT GREER are no longer members of the NCCF at Winston-Salem as all have quit. He stated that "TOOTSIE" CHRISS quit the NCCF group and her whereabouts is not known to him. He stated that DANIEL SMITH also gave up the BPP, and LARRY LITTLE and JULIUS CORNELL believe SMITH was helping the Police Department.

[redacted] advised that, while he was in the NCCF at Winston-Salem, North Carolina, he went through the training program that all community workers go through after which he sold newspapers and talked to the people in the community about the BPP.

[redacted] advised that JULIUS CORNELL had advised him that RICHARD CARTER and RONALD BARNES were no longer in Winston-Salem and offered no explanation as to their whereabouts. He advised that LARRY CAIN had left Winston-Salem after being caught in an unknown criminal act. He stated that CAIN and LARRY LITTLE

[redacted]

never did get along and at one time CAIN was going to complain to National Headquarters in Oakland, California, concerning the way in which the NCCF in Winston-Salem was being handled. [redacted] advised that he did not know if CAIN had made the complaint or not.

[redacted] advised that THERESA THOMAS, an ex-Black Panther member, had an argument with LARRY LITTLE after which she quit the NCCF.

[redacted] advised that, while he was a member of the NCCF at Winston-Salem, he had seen only a few guns around BPP headquarters which was located at 1602 East Fourteenth Street but had never noticed any hand grenades or any other explosive devices.

[redacted] stated that he had never informed to the Police Department concerning the NCCF.

[redacted] stated that the Black people in the Black community no longer believe in the BPP

[redacted]

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and the change has been through the leadership. [redacted] advised that LARRY LITTLE is no where near the leader that ROBERT GREER was.

[redacted] advised that he had not seen AUGUSTUS DART, DONALD SHORE or WILLIAM MERRY for several months and had no idea as to their whereabouts.

NC

On [redacted] 1970, [redacted] reported that RUSSELL EDWARD MC DONALD and JAMES ARTHUR POWERS returned from the Revolutionary People's Constitutional Convention on December 3, 1970, and would make no statement other than that they will make a full report to the Black Panther Party group at Lumberton, North Carolina, at a later date.

[redacted] reported that RUSSELL MC DONALD is upset with the Black Panther Party because he had previously been told that if anything went wrong and he was captured by the police, the Black Panther Party would come to his assistance with money and legal help, which has not materialized in connection with his arrest for the shooting at the Urban Redevelopment Commission in Lumberton, North Carolina.

On [redacted] reported that LARRY LITTLE had made the statement that JANE FONDA, the actress, was on a fund raising campaign for the Black Panther Party in connection with her appearing in Durham, North Carolina, and that HUEY NEWTON is to come to North Carolina in the near future.

4-750 (2-7-79)

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FBI/DOJ

On November 27, 1970, information was received from [redacted], that the Black Panther Party Headquarters, 1602 East Fourteenth Street, caught on fire shortly after 1 p.m.

[redacted]

4-750 (2-7-79)

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FBI/DOJ

FD-302 (REV. 3-17-69)

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Date 12/16/70

[redacted]

advised the property at 1602 East 14th Street [redacted]

On that date the above listed residence was searched in the presence of [redacted] and the following items were obtained from the residence with [redacted] permission.

On 12/9/70 at Winston-Salem, N. C. File # Charlotte 157-6171

by SAs [redacted] and [redacted] sjw Date dictated 12/10/70

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of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group first be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not grasp the fundamental knowledge of the balck revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is perpared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to perpare itself with guns, because it is already more than perpared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always amplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party mechinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

[illegible] in the interests of the people [illegible] concerned with [illegible] as to the living [illegible] of [illegible] there be any personal [illegible] correct, then, that we would [illegible] sacrifice or any error that we would not discard?

We must not become complacent over any success. We should check our complacency and constantly criticize our shortcomings, just as we should wash our faces or sweep the floor every day to remove the dirt and keep them clean.

As for criticism, do it in good time; don't get into the habit of criticizing only after the event.

Taught by mistakes and setbacks, we have become wiser and handle our affairs better. It is hard for any political party or person to avoid mistakes, but we should make as few as possible. Once a mistake is made, we should correct it, and the more quickly and thoroughly the better.

LIBERALISM

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. Saying nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally, to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent irritation, spite or seek revenge instead of enforcing rules or persuasion and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without refuting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or spend at most a few days or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, [illegible] that [illegible] a [illegible] and behave as if [illegible] ordinary mortals. This is a seventh type.

MALCOLM X UNITED
LIBERATION FRONT
317 N. MACOMB STREET
TALLAHASSEE, FLORIDA 32301

TALLAHASSEE FLA
PM
NOV 12
1970

National Committee to Combat Fascism
1602 E. 14th St.
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27105

that it might take you the rest of your life to finish paying for the house. If this government saw a need to build houses for people of low income, then the people should be able to pay for the house in a shorter length of time. They have it set up so that it takes almost the rest of your life to pay. This is just another way to oppress the people. Everyone knows that ~~of your family~~ housing is one of the basic needs of the people.

Explosion deposit the Explosion Double Tied [illegible] [illegible] Draper.

On orders from the Ministry of Education, we have moved to take all troops back over the Ten Point Platform and Program, Three Main rules of Discipline, Notes, Cardinal Rules of the Party, and the Twenty-six General Rules. We are now having vigorous Political Education classes and we are trying to instill conscience discipline in the troops as far as their studies are concerned.

Technical Equipment classes are being intensified so that all troops will know how to operate and service weapons correctly to the fullest extent.

(Political Education Classes for the Community)

Political education classes for the community are held on Tuesday and Thursday nights from 7:00 until 9:00. Classes range from 5 to 30 people. Usually we will go over articles in the newspaper or some events that went down in the community. We're trying to get the people from the community P.E. classes to move to a higher level and take part in the programs for the people.

Existing Programs

At this time the only consistant program we have is the Free Breakfast for Children Program. The attendance is very poor at both sites. [illegible] of this can be attributed to school children having to catch [illegible] so early in the morning. However, [illegible] that we are [illegible] have to move to intensify door to door [illegible] with the community [illegible] to obtain more transportation for the children. This way they could [illegible] the school bus and still be assured of getting to school on time.

1. Handguns con't.

C. Balance of Power [illegible] with any of the following p ice the teaching [illegible] Boston, and the correct military tactics you will be more than a match for the pigs.

1. 357 Mag. (this piece will crack an engine block on a car when loaded with armor piercing.)

2. 44 Mag.

3. 44 Mag.

2. SHOTGUNS AND RIFLES: (bolt action, pump, and semi automatic.) When acquiring rifles the military surplus or military style weapon is preferred due to the ease in which they can be taken apart, for maintenance and cleaning and simplicity of operation. Other factors that should be taken i into consideration are repair parts and ammo. Odd Cal. weapons must be discouraged and stress should be placed on getting the cal. of weapons that the pigs will have ammo for.

1. Suicide Specials (little more effective than being hit by a fly.)

a. 22 rifles (except the 22-250, .223, 22 Mag.)
b. .410 Shotgun (this is a shotgun in name only as far as gage are concerned. It shoots a shot about the size of bebes.)

2. SHOTGUNS: Most effective short range weapon-rapid fire can produce machine gun effect. Automatics have been known to jam badly. A 6 or 7 shot 12 gauge pump is very effective. Only double 0 buckshot or rifle slugs should be used.

A. Short Barrels----------use 00B

1. 20 inches--24 inches effective up to 75 yds. (3/4 block)
2. 18 inches-shortest legal length that can be be bought in gun store.
3. Sawed off-very effective for ripping off and close combat 0-25 yds (1/4 block)

B. Long Barrel----------00B or Rifled slugs.

1. 26-28 inches---Range 100 yds (one block)
2. 28-32 inches---Trap guns effective up to 1½ blocks.

3. RIFLES: Here we stress military type over civilian type. The military have a larger magazine capacity and hold more shells.

a. Bolt Actions: These should be equipped with scopes and used for special purpose rounds.

Then it began. "Kidnapping resulting in death" (a capital offense) -- Not guilty.

Lonnie, standing and facing the jury, grabbed the hand of his lawyer and waited for the next charge.

Conspiracy to kidnap (possible 30-year sentence) -- Not guilty.

Then it came: "Conspiracy to murder, what is your verdict?" "Guilty, your honor."

Gasps from the spectators. A jolt running through Lonnie's body, and a pause, waiting for the final charge -- binding, which carries a 50-year penalty...

"Not guilty, your honor."...

Then, while everyone was trying to understand what had happened, the judge was thanking the jury and setting Sept. 18 for Lonnie's sentencing (maximum penalty, 15 years in jail).

Did the jury, mostly white, middle class, middle-aged, despite the blatant collaboration of the prosecution and the judge, despite the flaming headlines in the big press, headlines which convicted Lonnie before he ever went on trial, want to completely acquit the Black Panther and put him back free, on the streets? Did the jury finally compromise because they were afraid they'd be kept sequestered until they did? Did they know that "conspiracy to murder" was the lightest of the charges?

The burst of questions on the New Haven Green when the verdict came down were stilled momentarily when the spirited crowd marched through downtown New Haven, demanding that all political prisoners be freed.

Lonnie still faces first degree murder charges in another county for the same incident. His lawyers will appeal this charge as double jeopardy. They also plan to appeal Lonnie's conviction. The other members of the New Haven 9, including Bobby Seale, must still stand trial this fall and winter, with Lonnie's conspiracy conviction on the books.

So, in the words of the Chip Smith Charge, the "doubt in the mind"of a dissenting juror" was "a reasonable one" after all -- the government must be gnashing its teeth because all the machinery it put into motion wasn't enough to send Lonnie McLucas to his death. All political prisoners and prisoners of war will be freed!

NEW HAVEN, Conn., Sept 18, AP -- Lonnie was sentenced to 12-to-15 years in prison today for his conviction of a charge of conspiracy to commit murder. (Maximum penalty was 15 years for the charge.) Bond was set at $35,000.

ESSAYS FROM
THE MINISTER OF DEFENSE
HUEY P. NEWTON

IN DEFENSE OF SELF DEFENSE June 20, 1967

Laws and rules have always been made to serve people. Rules of society are set up by people so that they will be able to function in a harmonious way. In other words, in order to promote the general welfare of society, rules and laws are established by men. Rules should serve men, and not men serve rules. Much of the time, the laws and rules which officials attempt to inflict upon poor people are non functional in relation to the status of the poor in society.

These officials are blind to the fact that people should not respect that are not serving them. It is the duty of the poor to write and construct rules and laws that are in their better interests. This is one of the basic human rights of all men.

Before 1776, white people were colonized by the English. The English government had certain laws and rules that the colonized Americans viewed as not in their best interests but as a colonized people. At that time the English government felt that the colonized Americans had no right to establish laws to promote the general welfare of the people living here in America. The colonized American felt he had no choice but to raise the gun in defense of the welfare of the colonized people. At this time, he made certain laws insuring his protection from external and internal aggressions from governments and agencies. One such form of protection was the Declaration of Independence, which states: "...whenever any government becomes destructive to these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundations on such principles and organizing its powers in such forms as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness."

Now these same colonized white people, these ex-slaves, robbers, and thieves, have denied the colonized black man the right to even speak of abolishing this oppressive system which the white colonized American created. They have carried their madness to the four corners of the earth, and now there is universal rebellion against their continued rule and power. The Black people in America are the only people who can free the world, loosen the yoke of colonialism and destroy the war machine. As long as the wheels of the imperialistic war machine are turning there is no country that can defeat this monster of the West. But Black people can make a malfunction of this machine from within. Black people can destroy the machinery that's enslaving the world. America cannot stand to fight every Black country in the world and fight a civil war at the same time. It is militarily impossible to do both of these things at once.

The slavery of Blacks in this country provides the oil for the machinery of war that America uses to enslave the peoples of the world.

Without this oil the machinery cannot function. We are the driving shaft; we are in such a strategic position in this machinery that, once once we become dislocated, the functioning of the remainder of the machinery breaks down.

Penned up in the ghettos of America, surrounded by his factories and all the physical components of his economic system, we have been made into "the wretched of the earth," who are relegated to the position of spectators while the white racists run their international con game on the suffering peoples. We have been brainwashed to believe that we are powerless and that there is nothing we can do for ourselves to bring about a speedy liberation for our people. We have been taught that we must please our oppressors, that we are only ten per cent of the population, and therefore, we must confine our tactics to categories calculated not to disturb the sleep of our tormentors.

The power structure inflicts pain and brutality upon the peoples and then provides controlled outlets for the pain in ways least likely to upset them or interfere with the process of exploitation. The people must repudiate the channels established as tricks and deceitful snares by the exploiting oppressors. The people must oppose everything the oppressor supports and support everything that he opposes. If Black people go about their struggle for liberation in the way that the oppressor dictates and sponsors, then we will have degenerated to the level of grovelling flunkies for the oppressor himself. When the oppressor makes a vicious attack against freedom fighters because of the way that such freedom fighters choose to go about their liberation, then we know we are moving in the direction of our liberation. The racist dog oppressors have no rights which oppressed Black people are bound to respect. As long as the racist dogs pollute the earth with the evil of their actions, they do not deserve any respect at all, and the rules of their game, written in the people's blood, are beneath contempt.

The oppressor must be harassed until his doom. He must have no peace by day or night. The slaves have always outnumbered the slavemasters. The power of the oppressor rests upon the submission of the people. When Black people really unite and rise up in all their splendid millions, they will have the strength to smash injustice. We do not understand the power in our numbers. We are millions and millions of Black people scattered across the continent and throughout the Western hemisphere. There are more Black people in America that the total population of many countries that now enjoy full membership in the United Nations. They have power and their power is based primarily on the fact that they are organized and united with each other. They are recognized by the powers of the world.

We, with all our numbers, are recognized by no one. In fact, we do not recognize our own selves. We are unaware of the potential

power latent in our numbers. In 1967, in the midst of a hostile racist nation whose hidden racism is rising to the surface at a phenominal speed, we are still so blind to our critical fight for our very survival that we are continuing to function in petty, futile ways. Divided, confused, fighting among ourselves, we are still in the elementary stage of throwing rocks, sticks, empty wine bottles and beer cans at racist cops who lie in wait for a chance to murder unarmed Black people. The racist cops have worked out a system for suppressing these spontaneous rebellions that flare up from the anger, frustration, and desparation of the masses of Black people. We can no longer afford the dubious luxury of the terrible casualties wantonly inflicted upon us by the cops during these spontaneous rebellions.

Black people must now move, from the grassroots up through the perfumed circles of the Black bourgeoisie, to seize by any means necessary a proportionate share of the power vested and collected in the structure of America. We must organize and unite to combat by long resistance the burtal force used against us daily. The power structure depends upon the use of force within retaliation. This is why they have made it a felony to teach guerille warfare. This is why they want the people unarmed.

The racist dog oppressor fears the armed people; they fear most of all Black people armed with weapons and the ideology of the Black PantherParty for Self Defense. An unarmed people are slaves or are subject to slavery at any given moment. If a government is not afraid of the people it will arm the people from foreign aggression. Black people are held captive in the midst of their oppressors. There is a world of difference between thirty million unarmed, submissive Black people and thirty million Black people armed with freedom and defense guns and the stratcgic methods of liberation.

When a mechanic wants to fix a broken-down car engine, he must have thennecessary tools to do the job. When the people move for liberation, they must have the basic tool of liberation: the gun. Only with the power of the gun can the Black masses halt the terror and brutality perpetuated against them by the armed racist power structure; and in one sense only by the power of the gun can the whole world be transformediinto the earthly paradise dreamed of by the people from time immemorial. One successful practitioner of the art and science of national liberation and self defense, Brother Mao Tse-tung, put it this way: "We are the advocates of the abolition of war, we do not want war; but war can only be abolished through war, and in order to get rid of the gun it is necessary to take up the gun."

The blood, sweat, tears and suffering of Black people are the foundations of the wealth and power of the United States of America. We were forced to build America, and if forced to, we will tear it down. The immediate result of this destruction will be suffering and bloodshed. But the end result will be the perpetual peace for all mankind.

In Defense jof Self Defense July 3, 1967

Historically, the power structure has demanded that Black leaders cater to their desires and to the ends of the imperialistic racism of the oppressor. The power structure has endorsed those Black leaders who have reduced themselves to nothing more than apologizing parrots. They have divided the so-called black leaders within the political arena. The oppressors sponsor racial programs, give space in their racist newspapers, and have shown them luxury enjoyed only by the oppressor. The Black leaders serve the oppressor by purposely keeping the people submissive and passive -non-violent. At any moment that these so-called Black leaders respond to the cries of the suffering and downtrodden, unemployed and welfare recipients who hunger for liberation by any means necessary.

Historically, there have been a few Black men who have rejected the handouts of the oppressor and who have refused to spread the opposing treacherous principles of deceit, gradual indoctrination and brainwashing, and who have refused to indulge in the criminal activity of teaching submission, fear, and love for an enemy who hates the very color black and is determined to commit genocide on an international scale.

There has always existed in the Black colony of Afro-American a fundamental difference over which tactics from the broad spectrum of alternatives Black people should employ in their struggle for national liberation.

One side of this difference contends that Black people are in the peculiar position where, in order to gain acceptance into the mainstream of American life, they must employ no tactic that will anger the oppressor whites. This view holds that Black people constitute a hopeless minority and that salvation for Black people lies in developing brotherly relatinns. There are certain tactics that are taboo. Violence against the oppressor must be avoided at all costs because the oppressor will retaliate with superior violence. So Black people may protest, but not protect. They can complain, but not cut and shoot. In short, Black people mus at all cost remain non-violent

On the other side of the difference, we find that the point of departure is the principle that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressor has no rights that the oppressed is bound to respect. Kill the slavemaster, destroy him utterly, move against him with implacable fortitude. Break his oppressive power by any means necessary. Men who have stood before the Black masses and recommended this response to the oppression have been held in fear by the oppressor. The Blacks in the colony who were led to the non-violent alternative could not relate to the advocates of implacable opposition to the oppressor. Because the oppressor always prefers to deal with the less radical, i.e., less dangerous, spokesmen for his subjects. He would prefer that his subjects had no spokesmen at all or betteryet, he wishes to speak for them himself. Unable to do this practically he does the the next best thing, and endorses spokesmen who will allow him to speak through them to the masses. Paramount amongst his imperatives is to see to it that implacable spokesmen are never allowed to communicate their message to the masses. Their oppressor will resort to any means necessary to silence the implacables.

Th[illegible]ssor will resort to any me[illegible] sarynto silence the im[illegible]placables.

The oppressor, endorsed spokesmen, and the implacables form the three points of a triangle of death.
The oppressor looks upon the endorsed spokesmen as a tool to use against the implacables to keep the masses passive within the acceptable limits of the tactics he is capable of containing. The endorsed spokesmen look upon the oppressor as a guardian angel who can always be depended upon to protect them from the wrath of the implacables, while he looks upon the implacables as dangerous and irresponsible madmen who, by angering the the oppressor, will certainly provoke a blood bath in which they themselves might get washed away. The implacables view bothe the oppressors and endorsed leaders as his deadly enemies. If any thing, he has a more profound hatred for the endorsed leaders than he has for the oppressor himself, because the implacables know athat they can deal with the oppressor only after they have driven the endorsed spokesmen off the scene.

Historically, the endorsed spokesmen have always held the upper hand on the implacables. In Afro-American history, there are shining brief moments when the implacables have outmaneuvered the oppressor and the endorsed spokesmen and gained the attention of the Black masses. The Black masses, recognizing the implacables in the depths of their despair, respond magnetically to the implacables and bestow a devotion and loyalty to them that frightens the oppressor and endorsed spokesmen into a panic-stricken frenzy, and they leap into a rash act-- murder, imprisonment, or exile -- to silence the implacables and to get their show back on the road.

The masses of Black people have always been deeply entrenched and involved in the basic necessities of life. They have not had time to abstract their situation. Abstractions come only with leisure. The people have not had the luxury of leisure. Therefore, the people have been very aware of the true definition of politics: politics are merely the desire of individuals and groups to satisfy first, their basic needs --food, shelter and clothing, and securityn for themselfes and their loved ones.
The Black leaders endorsed by the power structure hattempted to sell the people the simple -minded theory that politics is holding a political office: being able to move into a $40, 000 home: being able to go to get the people in a restaurant (while in fact the Black masses have not been able to pay the rent of a $40.00 rat-infested hovel).

The Black leaders have led the community to believe that brutality and force could be ended by subjecting the people to this very force of self-sacrificing demonstrations. The Black people realize brutality and force can only be inflicted if there is submission. The community has not responded in the past or in the present to the absurd and erroneous deceitful tactics of so-called legitimate Black leaders. The communtiy realizes that force and brutality can only be eliminated by counter force through self defense. Leaders who have recommended these tactics have never had the support and following of the downtrodden Black masses who comprise the bulk of the community. Grass roots-- the downtrodden of the Black community, even though they rejected the handpicked handkerchief heads

kerchief heads endorsed by the power structure the people have not had the academic or administrative knowledge to form themselves in long resistance to the brutality.

Marcus Garvey and Malcolm X were the two Black men of the twentieth century who posed an implacable challenge to both the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman that could be defeated with in any other way than precisely the foul manner recorded by history. Malcolm, in our time, stood on the threshhold with the oppressor and the endorsed spokesman from him that they couldn't get out of. Malcolm, implacable to the ultimate degree, held out to the Black masses the historical, stupendous victory of Black collective salvation and liberation from the chains of the oppressor and the treacherous embace of the endorsed spokesmen. Only with the gun were the black masses denied this victory But they learned from Malcolm that with the gun, they can recapture their dreams and bring them into reality.

The heirs of Malcolm now stand millions stront on their corner of the triangle, facing athe racist dog oppressor and the soulless endorded spokesmen. The heirs of Malcolm have picked up the gun and taking first things first are moving to expose the endorsed spokesmen for the Black masses to see them for what they are and always have been. The choice offered by the heirs of Malcolm to the endorsed spokesmen is to repudiate the oppressor and to crawl back to their people and earn a speedy reprieve or face a merciless, speedy and most timely execution for treason and being too wrong for too long.

POLITICAL PROPAGANDA KIT
for Black Panther Party Members

Primary Objective Objective of Our Party:
To Establish Revolutionary Political Power
for Black People

The Black Panther is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at the present, the Black Panther Party should certainly not confine itself to only fighting: besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, our Party must also shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming Black people, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up party organizations. The Black Panther Party defends itself with guns and force not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organizing them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Black Panther Party loses the reason for its existence.

PERSONAL RULE: Have Faith in the People and Faith in the Party

SAYO: We Do not Want War. We Are The Advocates of the Abolition of War, But War Can Only Be Abolished through War, and in order to get rid of the Gun, It Is Necessary to Pick Up the Gun

All Power to the People
Black Power to Black People

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet fell indignant, or dissuade him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction: to work perfunctorily and muddle along---"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to prideoneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slopshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude toward oneself. This is an eleventh type.

TOWARD A NEW CONSTITUTION

by

Huey P. Newton

WHEN IN THE COURSE OF HUMAN EVENTS, IT BECOMES NECESSARY FOR ONE PEOPLE TO DISSOLVE THE POLITICAL BANDS WHICH HAVE CONNECTED THEM WITH ANOTHER, AND TO ASSUME THE POWERS OF THE EARTH, THE SEPARATE AND EQUAL STATION TO WHICH THE LAWS OF NATURE AND OF NATURE'S GOD ENTITLE THEM, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND REQUIRES THAT THEY SHOULD DECLARE THE CAUSES WHICH IMPEL THEM TO SEPARATE.

WE HOLD THESE TRUTHS TO BE SELF-EVIDENT, THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, THAT THEY ARE ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, THAT AMONG THESE ARE LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS. THAT TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS, GOVERNMENTS ARE INSTITUTED AMONG MEN, DERIVING THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED. THAT WHENEVER ANY FORM OF GOVERNMENT BECOMES DESTRUCTIVE OF THESE ENDS, IT IS THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO ALTER OR ABOLISH IT, AND TO INSTITUTE NEW GOVERNMENT, LAYING ITS FOUNDATION ON SUCH PRINCIPLES AND ORGANIZING ITS POWERS IN SUCH FORM, AS TO THEM SHALL SEEM MOST LIKELY TO EFFECT THEIR SAFETY AND HAPPINESS. PRUDENCE, INDEED, WILL DICTATE THAT GOVERNMENTS LONG ESTABLISHED SHOULD NOT BE CHANGED FOR LIGHT AND TRANSIENT CAUSES, AND ACCORDINGLY ALL EXPERIENCE HATH SHOWN, THAT MANKIND ARE MORE DISPOSED TO SUFFER, WHILE EVILS ARE SUFFERABLE, THAT TO RIGHT THEMSELVES BY ABOLISHING THE FORMS TO WHICH THEY ARE ACCUSTOMED. INVARIABLY THE SAME OBJECT EVINCES A DESIGN TO REDUCE THEM UNDER ABSOLUTE DESPOTISM, IT IS THEIR RIGHT, IT IS THEIR DUTY, TO THROW OFF SUCH GOVERNMENT, AND TO PROVIDE NEW GUARDS FOR THEIR FUTURE SECURITY.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

Plenary Session

Workshop: Control and Use of the Educational System

1. Liberation schools set-up for pre-school age children
2. Entering school with a political consciousness
3. Community control of schools:
   a. Parents controlling curriculum
   b. Community elected board officers
   c. Power to hire and fire teachers belongs to community elected board
4. Intellectual and cultural education shall be available to all persons:
   a. Education will deal with the means of survival of the various portions of society
   b. Education for students will deal with the student as an individual
   c. The workings of the system or political education should be taught for constant political consciousness
   d. Schools and institutes will make advanced study available free nto any person
   e. The schools will encourage all persons to expand and realize their creative aspirations. It will especially encourage study in socialist society, human survival, and the truth and workings of the present society

Students' Rights

1. Students in any school will have the right to freedom of speech, dress, and assembly
2. Student government should be controlled by the students
   a. No rules set-up for who runs for office, ex., grades, conduct, politics, participation in other activities
   b. Student controlled press (paper), student board to decide what goes in paper and what does not go in
   c. Freedom to assembly whenever problems arise that the students feel should be solved collectively on a face to face basis
   d. Student activities not mandatory
   e. Assemblies left to student decision in accordance with what they feel to be relevant in what things directly relate to them
   f. No guards in schools for any reason. Community and students will deal with all problems, major or minor
   g. Students decide their courses according to what they want and think they need. No set curriculum. Courses will be fit to students, not students to the courses
   h. New grading system established.

All Power to the People!

We the people believe that education should serve the people. It should expose the true nature of this society. Education should assist in teaching us our socialist ideas, and stand as a basis for our socialist practice.

The power of education should and will belong in the hands of the people. We believe that education plays a major role in this system of programming. So we the people must penetrate and seize this tool of the power structure and turn it into a weapon to be used against it.

STATEMENT OF DEMANDS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLES CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
FROM THE GAYS REPRESENTATIVES OF NATIONAL GAY LIBERATION

WE DEMAND:

1. THE RIGHT TO BE GAY ANYTIME, ANYPLACE.
2. THE RIGHT TO FREE PHYSIOLOGICAL CHANGE AND MODIFICATION OF SEX UPON DEMAND.
3. THE RIGHT OF FREE DRESS AND ADORNMENT.
4. THAT ALL MODES OF HUMAN SEXUAL SELF-EXPRESSION DESERVE PROTECTION OF THE LAW, AND SOCIAL SANCTION.
5. EVERY CHILD'S RIGHT TO DEVELOP IN A NON-SEXIST, NON-REPRESSIVE ATMOSPHERE, WHICH IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF ALL PEOPLE TO CREATE.
6. THAT A FREE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM PRESENT THE ENTIRE RANGE OF HUMAN SEXUALITY, WITHOUT ADVOCATING ANY ONE FORM OR STYLE; THAT SEX ROLES AND SEX DETERMINED SKILLS BE NOT FOSTERED BY THE SCHOOLS.
7. THAT LANGUAGE BE MODIFIED SO THAT NO GENDER HAS PRIORITY.
8. THE JUDICIAL SYSTEM BE RUN BY THE PEOPLE THRU PEOPLE'S COURTS; THAT ALL PEOPLE BE TRIED BY MEMBERS OF THEIR PEER GROUP.
9. THAT GAYS BE REPRESENTED IN ALL GOVERNMENTAL AND COMMUNITY INSTITUTIONS.
10. THAT ORGANIZED RELIGIONS BE CONDEMNED FOR ADDING IN THE GENOCIDE OF GAY PEOPLE, AND ENJOINED FROM TEACHING HATRED AND SUPERSTITION.
11. THAT PSYCHIATRY AND PSYCHOLOGY BE REJECTED FROM ADVOCATING A PREFERENCE FOR ANY FORM OF SEXUALITY, AND THE ENFORCEMENT OF THAT PREFERENCE BY SHOCK TREATMENT, BRAINWASHING, IMPRISONMENT, ETC.
12. THE ABOLITION OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY BECAUSE IT PERPETUATES THE FALSE CATEGORIES OF HOMOSEXUALITY AND HETEROSEXUALITY.
13. THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF AND REPARATIONS FOR GAY AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS FROM PRISONS AND MENTAL INSTITUTIONS, THE SUPPORT BY GAY POLITICAL PRISONERS OF ALL OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS.
14. THAT GAYS DETERMINE THEIR DESTINY ON THEIR OWN COMMUNITIES.
15. THAT ALL PEOPLE SHARE EQUALLY THE LABOR AND PRODUCTS OF SOCIETY, REGARDLESS OF SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION.
16. THAT TECHNOLOGY BE USED TO LIBERATE ALL PEOPLES OF THE WORLD FROM DRUDGERY.
17. THE FULL PARTICIPATION OF GAYS IN THE PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.
18. FINALLY, THE END OF DOMINATION OF ONE PERSON BY ANOTHER.

GAY POWER TO GAY PEOPLE

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

GIVE THE TIME

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE COMPLETE UNTIL ALL MEN ARE FREE TO EXPRESS THEIR LOVE FOR OTHER MEN LEGALLY. WE DEFINE THE SEXUALITY OF OUR LOVE. THE SOCIAL INSTITUTION WHICH PREVENTS US ALL FROM EXPRESSING OUR TOTAL REVOLUTIONARY LOVE, WE DEFINE AS SEXISM.

SEXISM IS A BELIEF OR PRACTICE THAT THE SEX OR SEXUAL ORIENTATION OF MEN EITHER GIVES TO SOME THE RIGHT TO CERTAIN PRIVILEGES, POWER, OR ROLES, WHILE DENYING TO OTHERS THEIR FULL POTENTIAL. WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF OUR SOCIETY, SEXISM IS FUNDAMENTALLY ANTI-HUMAN THAN RACE SUPERIORITY AND NATIONALISM CONVERSION. SEXISM IN THE GREAT MAN SENSE IN DEFINING CERTAIN POSITIONS OR GROUPS, IN THE LONG RUN IS CAPABLE STRAW ALL THE PEOPLE, AND INHIBITS THE FORMING OF COMPLETE SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS AMONG STRAIGHT MEN.

SEXISM IS IRRATIONAL, UNJUST AND COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY. SEXISM PREVENTS THE REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY OF THE PEOPLE.

WE BELIEVE THAT THE STRUGGLE AGAINST SEXISM MUST BE ACKNOWLEDGED AS AN ESSENTIAL PART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE. WE BELIEVE THAT ALL REVOLUTIONARIES MUST DEAL INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY, WITH THEIR OWN SEXISM.

WE RECOGNIZE AS A WORTHWHILE REVOLUTIONARY ACTION THE GAY P. BLACK STATEMENT ON GAY LIBERATION. WE RECOGNIZE THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY AS BEING THE VANGUARD OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION IN AMERICA.

NO REVOLUTION WITHOUT US.''

AN ARMY OF LOVERS CANNOT LOSE.

The [illegible] Asians of I Wor[illegible] extend a [illegible] greetings and support to all our Third wo[illegible] and state [illegible] especially our [illegible] brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. We will [illegible] that all peoples of color throughout the world are oppressed by the racist US amerikan system. And we see that all our struggles lead to one common goal: the total destruction of the amerikan fascist state.

Asian peoples are well familiar with the methods of fascist repression and enslavement. Asians within amerika are a colonized people. Ever since the 1800's when we have been kidnapped, ir-entered, and tricked into coming to this so-called mountain of gold, Asian-Americans have suffered all possible forms of oppression under this capitalist system. Chinese were brought to California to work as forced laborers in railroads, mines, farms, plantations and cities of the white imperialists. By 1890 from railroad and land reclamation projects alone, Chinese people were responsible for $269,200, that the state of California stole from the people. Not only did these honky pigs steal from us but they did everything else conceivable to oppress us. Asians have been beaten massacred and brutalized by mobs of racist white dogs. When we finished building up the west, the burden of greedy expansionist white people crowded into California and forced us into isolated urban ghettos where we have ad to struggle for a meager existence ever since.

This country's racist treatment of Asian people reached new heights, of brutality during the second world war when hundreds of thousands of innocent Japanese men women and children were forced into concentration camps. In the name of protection of democracy the fascist pigs considered before Congress a law to castrate all Japanese males.

In the midst of all this oppression it is easy to see why so much false and dispicable racist stereotypes against yellow people had developed. Because yellow people were forced to enslave themselves through economic necessity to the most degrading and backbreaking work as domestics, cooks gardeners and the worst of all, as houseboys, many people say that Asians are passive and have not struck back against this avaricious monster. But history has shown and will continue to show that we have a long record of dealing with pigs. Because we have had no constitutional rights as human beings, whites have constantly invaded our communities to vent their racist insecurities by brutalizing yellow people. But it was not long before we picked up the gun and chased these renegade dogs out, servicing them notice that their next exit would be in a pine box. This struggle of day to day survival goes on unceasingly. Working class Asians, who emigrate from other imperialist colonies abroad have faced such tremendous exploitation there, that they are fooled by the lies of which the U.S. imperialist lackey dangles in their faces. Upon arrival in this country, they face the naked reality of social isolation, economical exploitation, psychological castration and political disenfranchisement enforced by the gestapo FBI and its lackey international mafiosa running dog Chiang Kai-shek wang regime within our own communities.

Asians in this country understand that our oppression is no different from the systematic killing and robbing of colored peoples in the U.S. and around the world. Unable to win in Vietnam and Laos, the U.S. aggressors treacherously engineered the reactionary coup d'etat by the Lon Vol Clique, brazenly dispatched their troops to invade Cambodia and renewed the bombing of North Vietnam and this has aroused the furious resistance of the three Indo-Chinese peoples. U.S. Imperialism, which looks like a huge monster, is in essence a paper tiger, now in the throes of its death-bed struggle. Asians, like our Third world brothers and sisters, understand that this monster is the perpetrator of the most hideous crime against us people of color such as Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia to which we are sworn to avenge.

Following the standard of revolutionary China, we join the liberation struggles of our brothers and sisters in Southeast Asia. History has shown that this country has long kept in mind its ability to exterminate an entire race of people with concentration camps and methods of mass execution. Such camps exist and are are ever ready for us. Pig, J.Edgar Hoover has long stated that every yellow

position is a threat to the security of this country. Action by fascist Amerikkan brothers no matter how [illegible] people [illegible] with our brothers in Asia [illegible] will soon fall upon us all. The behavior of Japanese during World War II is not a mistake compared to the bloodbath that will occur the next time. We have united here and we state publicly that we will not submit to any fascist slaughter without a struggle. The only way to prevent this bloodbath is the destruction of the American fascist system with all possible speed. As brother Huey P. Newton, Minister of the Black Panther Party who sees the survival of black people dependent upon the speedy destruction of this pig system, it is clear to us in I Ber Kwan that all oppressed peoples must unite and deal a death blow to this fascist system.

I Ber Kwan finds that there are many contradictions among the people with respect to the varied attitudes towards our brothers and sisters. As brother Huey states, "If we recognize our brothers liberation struggle as our own we bring about the speediest possible destruction of the American fascist state." Because of the racial stereotypes which this system has spread upon us Asians as well as our Third World brothers and sisters and to our Asian non revolutionary people and find it hard to relate to revolutionary China which actively support the world wide struggle against our common enemy. The division within the Third World racial attitudes towards each other must be [illegible] and struggled against and removed in order to achieve true Third World unity which is essential for the revolution. It is the spirit of the internationalism from which every revolutionary must learn. Lenin's teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if all Third World Peoples support each other's liberation struggle in the colonies and semi colonies. We revolutionaries must put this line into practice. We must educate this concept to our people. This is our Internationalism, the internationalism which opposes both narrow minded racism and narrow minded nationalism. People of the World unite and defeat U.S. aggressors and all its running dogs. Unity is Strength

Chairman Mao and Chairman Debby

In solidarity.

I Ber Kwan (Righteous Harmonious First)
24 Market St., New York city, N.Y.

REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION
PLENARY SESSION

Workshop: Control and Use of Military and Police
Reggie

Proposals on the Military

1. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militia trained in guerilla warfare, on a voluntary basis and consisting of both men and women.
2. The U.S. shall not maintain a standing army, since historically a standing army has been used for offensive actions against the people of the United States and around the world.
3. No genocidal weapons shall be manufactured or used.
4. All presently existing offensive equipment and installations shall be made inoperable and unserviceable for its original purpose.
5. The people shall be educated and informed on the action of the militia, and all records shall be open to the public.
6. The government shall be prohibited from sending any personnel, funds, or equipment to any nation for military or police purposes. It should also be prohibited from spending more than 10% of the national budget for any military or police purposes. This can be overridden by a majority vote in a national referendum.
7. No person shall serve full-time in the militia; those serving in the militia shall be paid a fair wage.
8. Militia members shall be governed by the laws of the community in which they serve (or governed by the laws of the nation??)
9. National defense shall be provided by a system of peoples' militias.
10. There shall be no conscription for any armed forces.
11. No peoples' militia shall be stationed outside national boundaries.
12. Government people and military personnel should be defined as one and the same, and not as separate entities in or of the power structure.
13. The people shall have the right to bear arms.
    a. No citizen shall be prohibited the possession, control or purchase of small arms without the due process of the law.
    b. Free programs shall be set-up in the training and use of small arms.

Organization, Use of, and Control of the Police

1. The police force shall be a rotating volunteer non-professional body co-ordinated by the Police Control Board from a (weekly) list of volunteers from each community section. The Police Control Board, its policies, as well as the police leadership, shall be chosed by direct popular majority vote of the community.
2. There shall not be set-up, or permitted to exist, a national body of police, or secret body of police, nor shall un-uniformed police be permitted to exist.
3. Any citizen can bring charges against any member or officer of the police force before the Control Board, and the Control Board

shall have the power to relieve that member or officer of the police force of his or her duty.

4. Community Police Councils may set-up working relations and exchang information with police forces in other communities.
5. The purpose of the people's police force shall be to serve protect the community.
6. No person can serve on both the police force and the Control Board at the same time.
7. Any member of the Control Board can be removed by direct, popular vote of the people.
8. Funds for communitypolice force and for the community's Control Board shall be provided for by national government under directions of local Control Board.

REVOLUTIONARY ART

THE WORKSHOP ON THE REVOLUTIONARY ARTS AND ARTIST HEREBY SUBMIT THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION TO THE PLENARY SESSION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION:

WE RECOGNIZE;

1. THAT ALL PEOPLE ARE BORN WITH A CREATIVE POTENTIAL AND THAT THE SOCIETY MUST GUARANTEE THAT EVERY PERSON HAS THE OPPORTUNITY TO DEVELOP AND EXPRESS THAT POTENTIAL.

2. THAT ART IS A CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF A PEOPLE'S CULTURE OR WAY OF LIFE.

3. WE RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT OF EVERY PEOPLE'S CULTURE TO ITS FORM OF EXPRESSION AND THAT THOSE FORMS OF EXPRESSIONS SHOULD BE PRESERVED, ENCOURAGED AND DEVELOPED.

4. WE RECOGNIZE THAT ART SHOULD BE RELATED TO THE INTERESTS, NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THE PEOPLE.

FOURTH PREACHER TO THE PLENARY SESSION

Friends and comrades throughout the United States and throughout the world, we gather here in peace and friendship to claim our inalienable rights, to claim the rights bestowed upon us by an unbroken train of abuses and usurpations, and to perform the duty which is thus required of us. Our *sufferance* has been long and patient, our patience has stayed the hand long, but our human dignity and strength requires that we shift the voice of prudence with the voice of our *sufferance*. Then we gather in the spirit of revolutionary love and fellowship for all oppressed people of the world regardless of their race or the race and creeds of their oppressors. We gather to proclaim to the world that for 200 years we have suffered this long train of abuses and usurpations while looking to the hope that this would pass. We recognize however, *that it has now passed* and we are a people who enjoy no equal protection of the law, and our future action must be guided by our sufferance, and not by our prudence.

Two centuries ago when the United States was a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, the conditions which prevailed in the nation, and the assumptions upon which its foundations were built, were such that they ensured the United States would come to its maturity under circumstances which mean that for a substantial proportion of its citizens' life is nothing more than a prison of poverty, and the only happiness we enjoy is the longing to keep from crying.

The United States of America was born at a time when the nation covered relatively little land, a narrow strip of political divisions on the Eastern seaboard. The United States of America was born at a time when the population was small and fairly homogeneous both racially and culturally. Thus the people called Americans were a different people in a different place. Furthermore, they had a different economic system. The small population and the fertile land available meant that with the agricultural emphasis of the economy, people were able to advance according to their motivation and ability. It was an agricultural economy and with the circumstances surrounding it, Democratic Capitalism flourished in the new nation.

The following years were to see this new nation rapidly develop into a multi-timbed giant. The new nation acquired land and spread from a narrow strip on the eastern seaboard to cover the entire continent with but few exceptions. The new nation expanded a population to fill this newly acquired land. This population was drawn from the continents of Africa, Asia, Europe and South America. Thus a nation conceived by homogeneous people of a small number and in a small area grew into a nation of a heterogeneous people, comprising a large number, and spread across an entire continent. This change in the fundamental characteristics of the nation and its people substantially changed the nature of American society. Furthermore, the social changes were marked by economic changes. A rural and agricultural economy became an urban and industrialized economy, as farming was replaced by manufacturing. The Democratic Capitalism of our early days became caught up in a *relentless drive* to obtain profits until the selfish motivation for profit eclipsed the unselfish principles of democracy. Thus 200 years later we have an overdeveloped economy which is so infused with the need for profit that we have replaced Democratic Capitalism with Bureaucratic Capitalism. The free opportunity of all men to pursue their economic ends has been replaced by constraints placed upon Americans by the large corporations which control and direct our economy. They have sought to increase their profits at the expense of the people, and particularly at the expense of the racial and ethnic minorities.

The history of the United States, as distinguished from the promise of the idea of the United States leads us to the conclusion that our sufferance is basic to the functioning of the government of the United States. We see this when we note the basic contradictions found in the history of this nation. The government, the social institutions, and the legal documents which brought freedom from oppression, which brought human dignity and human rights to one portion of the people of this nation had culturally opposite consequences from another portion of the people. While the majority group achieved their basic human

rights, the liberties achieved themselves from the bondage of their fathers and slavery. The evidence for this is clear and incontrovertible.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that the composition of the United States government and the constitution of that union at the origin of the American nation the original consciousness of the land and still its legitimate belief. The long march of the Cherokees on the "Trail of Tears" and the actual disappearance of many other Indian nations testifies to the unwillingness and inability of this government and this government's constitution to incorporate racial diversities.

We find evidence for majority freedom and minority oppression in the fact that even while the early settlers were proclaiming their freedom they were globally and systematically depriving Africans of their freedom. These basic contradictions were further concretized by acts which implicitly admitted that the majority was wrong, but unwilling to do right. Thus when the Declaration of Independence was drafted the Founding Fathers struck all mention of the slave trade. Thus when the United States Constitution was drafted the Founding Fathers considered the slave as equivalent to 3/5 of a man. Thus when the slaves were emancipated the descendants of the Founding Fathers compromised that freedom to gain further territory. These compromises were as basic to the thinking of our forebears that legal attempts to correct the contradictions through constitutional amendments and Civil Rights laws have produced no change in our condition and we are still a people without equal protection and due process of law. We recognize then that the oppressive acts of the United States government when contrasted with the testaments of freedom, carried forward a basic contradiction found in all the legal documents upon which this government is based.

Generation after generation of the majority group have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of their children and grandchildren. Generation after generation of Black people in America have been born, they have worked, and they have seen the fruits of their labors in the life, liberty and happiness of the children and grandchildren of their oppressors, while their own descendants wallow in the mire of poverty and deprivation, holding only to the hope of change in the future. This hope has sustained us for many years and has led us to suffer the administrations of a corrupt government. At the dawn of the 20th Century this hope led us to formulate a Civil Rights movement in the belief that this government would eventually fulfill its promise to Black people. We did not recognize, however, that any attempt to complete the promise of an 18th Century Revolution in the framework of a 20th Century government, economy and society was doomed to failure. The descendants of that small company of original settlers of this land are not among the common people of today, they have become a small ruling class in control of a worldwide economic system. The constitution set up by their ancestors to serve the people no longer serves the people, the people have changed. The people of the 18th Century have become the ruling class of the 20th Century, and the people of the 20th Century are the descendants of the slaves and dispossessed of the 18th Century. The constitution set up to serve the people of the 18th Century now serves the ruling class the 20th Century, and the people of today stand wanting for a foundation of their own life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. The Civil Rights Movement has not produced this foundation, and it cannot produce this foundation because of the nature of the United States society and economy. The vision of the Civil Rights Movement is to achieve goals which have been altered by 200 years of change. Thus the Civil Rights Movement and similar movements have produced no foundation for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. They have produced humiliating programs of welfare and unemployment compensation, programs with sufficient form to deceive the people, but with insufficient substance to change the fundamental distribution of power and resources in this country.

Moreover, while these movements attempt to get minorities into the system, we note that the government continues its pattern of practices which contradict its democratic rhetoric. We recognize now that we see history repeating itself, but on an international as well as a national scale. The relentless drive for profit led this nation to colonize, oppress and exploit its minorities. This profit drive led this nation from democratic capitalism and underdevelopment, to bureaucratic capitalism and overdeveloped industry. Now we see that this small ruling class continues its profit drive by repressing and exploiting the peoples of the world. Throughout the world the human potentiality is crushed so that the profits of American industry can continue to flow. Throughout the world the freedom struggles of oppressed

people are opposed by this government because they are a threat to bureaucratic capitalism in the United States of America.

We gather here to let it be known at home and abroad that a nation conceived in liberty and dedicated to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness has been ruthlessly beaten and imperialist power dedicated to death, oppression and the pursuit of profits. We will not be deceived by as many of our fellow men, we will not be blinded by small changes in form while less any change in the substance of imperialist expansion. Our suffering has been too long, our sacrifices have been too great, and our human dignity is too strong for us to be prudent any longer.

THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM AND THE POWER TO DETERMINE OUR DESTINY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO THE CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION OF OUR COMMUNITY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR DECENT HOUSING FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A TRUE EDUCATION OF OUR PEOPLE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR EXEMPTION FROM MILITARY SERVICE.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR AN END TO POLICE BRUTALITY.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FREEDOM FOR ALL POLITICAL PRISONERS.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR FAIR TRIALS FOR ALL MEN BY A JURY OF THEIR PEERS.
THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY CALLS FOR A UNITED NATIONS PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE THE WILL OF BLACK PEOPLE AS TO THEIR NATIONAL DESTINY.

Black people and oppressed people in general have lost faith in the leaders of America, in the government of America, and in the very structure of American government--that is the Constitution, its legal foundation. This loss of faith is based upon the overwhelming evidence that this government will not live according to that constitution because the constitution is not designed for its people. For this reason we call for a constitutional convention to consider radical and positive alternatives. Alternatives which will place their emphasis on the common man. Alternatives which will bring about a new economic system in which the rewards as well as the work will be equally shared by all people--a Socialist framework. Alternatives which will guarantee that within the Socialist framework all people will be adequately represented in the decision-making and administration which affects their lives. Alternatives which will guarantee that all men will attain their full manhood rights, that they will be able to live, to free, and seek out those goals which give them respect and dignity while permitting the same privileges for every other man regardless of his condition or status.

The sanctuaries of man and of the human spirit requires that human dignity and integrity ought to be always respected by every other man. We will settle for nothing less, for at this point in history anything less is but a living death. WE WILL BE FREE and we are here to ordain a new constitution which will ensure our freedom by enshrining the dignity of the human spirit.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

"THE DETAILS OF CHEAP DEFENSE:
THE CORRECT HANDLING OF A REVOLUTION."

Most human behavior is learned behavior. Most things the human being learns are gained through an indirect relationship to the object. Humans do not act from instinct as lower animals do. These things learned indirectly many times stimulate very effective responses to what might be later a direct experience. At this time the black masses are handling the resistance indirectly. The brothers in East Oakland learned from Watts a means of resistance fighting by arousing the people in the streets, throwing bricks and molotov cocktails to destroy property and create disruption. The brothers and sisters in the streets were herded into a small area by the gestapo police and immediately contained by the brutal violence of the oppressor's storm troops. This manner of resistance is spontaneous, short-lived, and costly in violence against the people. This method has been transmitted to all the ghettos of the black nation across the country. This first man who throw a molotov cocktail is not personally known by the masses, but yet the action was respected and followed by the people.

The Vanguard Party must provide leadership for the people. It must teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example. This is the primary job of the party. This knowledge will probably be gained second-hand by the masses just as the above mentioned was gained indirectly. When the people learn that it is no longer advantageous for them to resist by going into the streets in large numbers, and when they see the advantage in the activities of the guerrilla warfare method, they will quickly follow this example.

But first, they must respect the party which is transmitting this message. When the Vanguard group destroys the machinery of the oppressor by dealing with him in small groups of three and four, and then escapes the might of the oppressor, the masses will overjoyed and will adhere to this correct strategy. When the masses hear that a gestapo policemen has been executed while sipping coffee at a counter, and the revolutionary executioners fled without being traced, the masses will see the validity of this type of approach to resistance. It is not necessary to organize thirty million Black people in primary groups of two's and three's but it is important for the party to show the people how to go about revolution. During slavery, in which no vanguard pary existed and forms of communication were severely restricted and insufficient, many slave revolts occurred.

There are basically three ways one can learn: through study, through observation, and through actual experience. The black community is basically composed of activists. The community learns through activity, either through observation

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, BCCF Office Burnt By The Fascist Pigs [illegible] Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention [illegible]

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the BCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the BCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the BCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the BCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The Fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the BCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted North in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. North informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, HCCF Office Burnt By The Fascist Pigs [illegible]

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the HCCF and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the HCCF and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the HCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the HCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the HCCF in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Harris in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Harris informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves reported the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

Winston-Salem, North Carolina, RCCP Office Burned By Pigs

Pigs Attack Community Organizing Center

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the RCCP and the people of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 60 members of the RCCP and the community left Winston-Salem at noon on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and on they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston-Salem and were then informed that the RCCP headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the RCCP reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The fire department arrived but instead of trying to stop the all fire went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other equipment. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had congregated on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were grounded in Henderson left the truck and contacted B. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by B. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, the people informed the occupants that the RCCP in Winston-Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to confiscate several firearms.

The people then contacted Hertz in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Hertz informed them that if they had been contacted by the pigs who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves reported the truck and left Hertz to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attack by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of the Communities under siege here in Babylon to liberate our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement inter-communalism.

All Power To The People

BLACK PANTHER PARTY
November 28, 1970

[illegible]

FASCIST CONSPIRACY AT WORK

In a further attempt to prevent the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention from taking place, the fascist pigs moved against the NCCF and the people of Winston Salem, North Carolina.

On November 27, approximately 40 members of the NCCF and the community left Winston Salem enroute on their way to Washington, D.C. They were travelling in a hired truck and three cars. Soon after they started on their journey mechanical problems developed with the truck. At Henderson, North Carolina at 4 p.m. they were forced to pull off the road and as they did this the front tire of the truck came off. On investigation, knife marks were found on the tire and the people of the community confirmed that unknown persons were seen around the truck prior to the commencement of the journey.

At 5 p.m. they telephoned Winston Salem and were then informed that the NCCF headquarters had been burnt down. A member of the NCCF reported that he was in the front office when he smelt smoke. He went to the back and saw a blaze which he tried to put out but was unsuccessful. Eyewitness reports state that something had been thrown into the office.

The Fire Department arrived and instead of trying to stop the fire, went forward to destroy the office. The local pigs also arrived and confiscated the files and other supplies. They would have taken everything if they had not been prevented by the people of the community who had converged on the office.

On receiving this information, the people who were stranded in Henderson left the truck and contacted E. Whitmore Inc. to have it repaired. The truck was towed away and left on the road by E. Whitmore, Inc. who stated that it could not be repaired. The FBI, state and local pigs converged on the truck, first informing the occupants that the NCCF in Winston Salem had been destroyed and then proceeded in their usual brutal manner to conduct a search for weapons.

The people then contacted Herts in Greensboro to see if they would repair the truck. Herts informed them that they had been contacted by the FBI who told them they were not to repair the truck. The people themselves repaired the truck and were able to leave at 4 a.m. on their way to the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

It is obvious that this was a planned attempt by the fascist pigs to prevent the people of Winston Salem from participating in the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention.

We call upon the oppressed peoples of our Communities under siege here in Babylon to join our community in Washington D.C. in order that the Revolutionary Peoples Constitutional Convention might take place. We call for mobilization for survival until we are able to join the other peoples of the world who have liberated their communities and go forward to implement Inter-communalism.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE

BLACK PANTHER PARTY

November 28, 1970

Serving The People

We should be modest and prudent, guard against arrogance and rashness, and serve the Chinese People heart and soul ...

Our point of departure is to serve the people whole heartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the interests or from the interests of a small group, and to identify our responsibility to the people with our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party.

The organs of state must practise democratic centralism, they must rely on the masses and their personnel must serve the people

Comrade Bethunes spirit, his utter devotion to others without anythought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-hearted mean towards all comrades and the people. Every C Communist must learn from him.

W must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spiritevery one can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already nobleminded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

OUr Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New F Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the peopleand work entirely in the people's interests.

All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?

OUr duty is to hold ourselves responsible to the p people. Every word, every act and every policy must conform to the people's interests, and if mistakes occur, they must be corrected- that is what being responsible to the people means.

Wherever there struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people' and the sufferings of the great majoritu at heart, andwhen we die for the people it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices

All men must die, byt death can vary in its significance The ancient Chinese writer Ssuma Chien said, "Though deth befalls all men alike, it may be havovier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather." To die for the people is heavier than Mount Tai, byt to work for the fascists and die for the exploiterd and oppressors is lighter than a feather.

me sage of Brother Stokely Carmichael, Black people all over the country understand it perfectly and welcome it.

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense teaches that in the final analysis, the amount of guns and defense weapons, such as hand grenades, bazookas, and other necessary equipment, will be supplied by taking these weapons from the power structure, as exemplified by the Viet Cong. Therefore, the greater the military preparation on the part of the oppressor, the greater in the availability of weapons for the black community. It is believed by some hypocrites that when the people are taught by the vanguard group to prepare for resistance, this only brings the man down on them with increasing violence and brutality; but the fact of the matter is that when the man becomes more oppressive, this only heightens the revolutionary fervor. The vanguard group only teaches the correct methods of resistance. So, if things can get worse for oppressed people, then they will feel no need for revolution or resistance. The complaint of the hypocrites that the Black Panther Part for Self Defense is exposing the people to deeper suffering is an incorrect observation. People have proved that they will not tolerate any more oppression by the racist dog police through their rebellions in the black communities across the country. The people are looking now for guidance to extend and strengthen their s resistance struggle.

of or participation in the activity. To study and learn is good but the actual experience is the best means of learning. The party must engage in activities that will teach the people. The black community is basically not a reading community. Therefore it is very significant that the vanguard group should be activists. Without this knowledge of the black community, one could not gain the fundamental knowledge of the black revolution in racist America.

The main function of the party is to awaken the people and to teach them the strategic method of resisting the power structure, which is prepared not only to combat the resistance of the people with massive brutality, but to totally annihilate the black community, the black population.

If it is learned by the power structure that black people have "x" amount of guns in their possession, this will not stimulate the power structure to prepare itself with guns, because it is already more than prepared.

The end result of this education will be positive for Black people in their resistance and negative for the power structure in its oppression, because the party always exemplifies revolutionary defiance. If the party is not going to make the people aware of the tools of liberation and the strategic method that is to be used, there will be no means by which the people will be no means by which the people will be mobilized properly.

The relationship between the vanguard party and the masses is a secondary relationship. The relationship between the members of the vanguard party is a primary relationship. It is important that the members of the vanguard group maintain a face-to-face relationship with each other. This is important if the party machinery is to be effective. It is impossible to put together functional party machinery or programs without this direct relationship. The members of the vanguard group should be tested revolutionaries. This will minimize the danger of Uncle Tom informers and opportunists.

The main purpose of vanguard group should be to raise the consciousness of the masses through educational programs and certain physical activities the party will participate in. The sleeping masses must be bombarded with the correct approach to struggle through the activities of the vanguard party. Therefore, the masses must know that the party exists. The party must use all means available to get this information across to the masses. If the masses do not have knowledge of the party, it will be impossible for the masses to follow the program of the party.

The vanguard party is never underground in the beginning of its existence, because this would limit its effectiveness and educational processes. How can you teach people if the people do not know and respect you? The party must exist above

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() I am coming to the Revolutionary People's Olenary Sa-sion.
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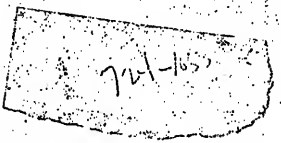

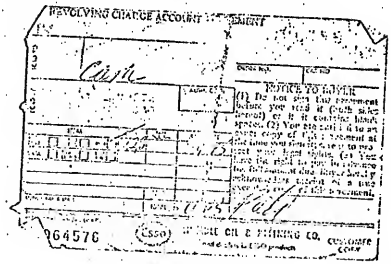

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Eugene Philyan

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Emma King

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Lip McGaughey

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of Monthly Receipts & Disbursements. Reports taken from the Treasury and Treasury Receipts in finance book.

Sample Invoice Sheet

Date

Salesman

Sold to Sushin

No	Description	Price each	Total
20	Packs	100 each	20.00

Title Due 30.00

Remember Pal

Get another desk and use other room for finance and distribution.

If you call again, ask Hand if she got that money brought at Kitchen.

[illegible] Sheet [illegible] Books
Book [illegible] [illegible] Type of Material(s)

Date	Description	Cash Expense (Single) (or Credit)	Charges	Credit	[illegible] Dr Debit or Credit	Balance	Quantity

Invoices Book
Receipt Book
Distribution Book - Seven

Phone - Ann's & Headquarters

Our Program Lines - Supplement in theoretical & practical

Catechism

1) Bring new pages of syllabus
2) Bring duplicating paper

Sample - Protocol of Pigeons

Pigeon Color	Pigeon Required	Cost Paid Case	Volume

[illegible]

[illegible] United States Empire [illegible]

Prerequisites - personnel
Skills up [illegible] RDF

August 30 1970 P.E. Chase Clarke Oregon

The [illegible] would [illegible] the [illegible] of the American [illegible]

[illegible] Campaign [illegible]

Due Teachers the [illegible] Sunday School [illegible]
in the Day Care Center. (Primary Session)

Start Working on Transportation for November [illegible]

Before you and each [illegible], Confirmed [illegible]

Supts and Officers Appeal to Juge that we need transportation
Mrs Mary Bobby.

Each People Bring Mimeograph machine Typewriter
Typewriter with [illegible] and Paper [illegible] (5)
Superintendent People Not Sunday.
Bring Name on Machines
Cameras. Should be Kept with you. Bring them
People draw on all Cards, Branch or KCC.
Superintendent.
Secretary
Intermediate School Teacher.
Good Appeal

Everybody should bring books & sleeping bags.
Anthony Cole

Paper plates
Napkins
Forks
Paper towels
Sundry, Napkins
Toilet tissue

Left Philadelphia
Office late Thursday
Morning.

GE 57635 - Germantown
BG 20885 - 2nd Phila
PO 37437 Northern St.

Philly Phone Numbers

Rough estimate of how many people we have Thursday
Registration of guests & cards - Bring Thursday morning
in alphabetical order
in odd decks numbers
order & route transportation

	No. of Informations	Centers
V Dr. Patton	1	
V Pearson	1	
V Bagley Dr.	1	
Miss Mack	1	
LSQ	1	
IC '12	1	

Not a [illegible] by any means [illegible]
(white falls) [illegible]

Feel win by Thursday

Serie the Time Schedule - Sept. 9, 1970

	Home		At Sept. 15
Boston	1	10	9
Barry Hill	1	10	9
Seneca	0	2	2
10th St.	1	2	1
Lakeside	0	2	2
Mt. Mack	1	2	1
Zanesville Winterset (Bethlehem)	11		9 (Bethlehem)
	39		

5.10
4) 20.40
20
4
4
0

25.00
2) 50.00
10
10
10
10

5.10
4) 20.40
20
4
4
0
0

5.10
4) 20.40
20
4
4
0
0

44.10
2) 88.20
30.40
47.60

We got the proper
money otherwise

Treat'n Rig

15
4
1

Thing Out · Rioman
$1.00 Phone Calls

Jack

1. Kinny not setting a example. Sleeping for much

Randy - 4C Lates waiting to leave the house after 13:00.

Paul

Not obeying orders, he respect for leadership, he encourage discipline, Nigger-running around acting crazy.

Leo - Conduct inside of Tactical, chasing the point of the moons)

Too much play, looks like a tactical social instead of a National Committee.

Sam acting crazy. Was critical of Lodmock. He same mistake again. Seemed to be high. Dwell a negative attitude.

Kenny

Daniel's approach to mood up. Runs too much rhetoric before he gets to the point.

Sam. Some trial to justify the actions of the comrades to remove from the community.

1. What part did you play in what went down at the Community House?
2. Did you know what was going to happen?
3. When

After they were down what was happening. Did you go in the van with them to go down the hill?

Any reasons for getting in van?

Did you ask them to take you home?

Did you ask why Mrs. Mack was put into van? Were you by to hide

Where were you when the niggers got out of the truck?

From what you saw, just what happened

Who brought mattress out to van?

Who was Cutney talking to?

Did they just go on the porch? Did you see the Shaw

Was the door open when Lloyd Ramie came?

~~[illegible]~~ Questions

When you say door was open, was it opened wide?

Was the house unusual?

Did you observe [illegible] position of cover

Who first saw on porch? Did he go in house Cubey, Bowman?

If nobody went in house, who brought furniture down?

It was said Sister Bowman Cubey went in house. Can you verify that? Did Sister point shotgun at Mary?

Is it possible that they put a gun on you but not see it.

You couldn't hear conversation at all?

How far were you from porch?

After this had happen had Mrs Mock started to walk home?

Did Mrs Mock down to house?

Was Richard Cain in truck?

Were you sent out to count people here

Were you hip to what was coming down that

After that happened, did you get back in truck?

After this had happened, why didn't you come & make your position clear later?

What kind of shoes do you take now?

Find out all available means of raising money

Banquets
Parties
Dances etc. Contract Bands
for convention and collection:

Mrs Miller
Hazel Scott
Velma Hopkins
Pitty Bourgeois Higgins
Hugh Faust - Dora Gray
Gilman
Hazel Hall
Huckey Boyd - France Yu Convention
Hook Dave in Detail

Bands
Versatiles
Superior
Blenders

Dunglen
Internatio
Sorentio } Photo Comp

Demonstration - Big organizing large [illegible]

Phyllis Major
Student Chamber 753-7960
Hours 8-3 M-F

[illegible] Sept. [illegible] 19[illegible]

Lee Wadling

1. Mine hasn't been a change in appearance. Been there no need for cooperation. Working too much for Dad. Helpful but don't straighten up around home.

2. Kenny hasn't been setting good example. Acting crazy. Seldom knows better for.

3. Gary - independent - stubborness. Wants to make decisions on his own. Charles - messing up on security. No regards for their lives or their comrades' lives. [illegible]

4. Sisters in general have attitudes towards people from the community. Acting arrogant.

5. No discipline (conscious) among group as a whole. Sharpe, you shipped.

Gary - stubborn and independent. Uses the knowledge he has to get what he wants. Has a way with words. - Julius & Cheryl

THE NORTH CAROLINA FUND
POST OFFICE BOX 697 DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27702 PHONE 688-5785
GEORGE H. ESTES, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

III

to the lawyer in court during recess & walked up to. Good looking woman while he was rubbing buttocks with same while whispering unto pigs and asked him "How much was he paid a week for informing the pigs on this brother or that brother"? & the light lipped lackey replied "I don't know what you're talking about. At the same time pigs discovered the photographers tried to take our pictures, and we also exposed the photographers & pigs and told them to withdraw from our mist & not take our pictures anymore. & the pigs were lined up in two's searching sisters pocketbooks. They know all the time that the people in High Point aren't afraid to commit revolutionary suicide, because,

1

[illegible] Bringing the [illegible] to High Point in High Point.

The pigs have been around to tell us that a Black Panther Party is on Fern Street. They are patrolling the Carson Hall Housing Project 24 hours a day. The low salaried least are even asking little children are there any Panthers in High Point. The foods are going around stopping people that are driving about their business asking for information. Pigs are patrolling the schools working hand in hand with [illegible] to tell point out A Shaffer (Principal of High Point Central High School). The least is intimidating students because they won't tell us anymore than he is supposed to.

The pigs in High Point are selling [illegible] mainly because of underground [illegible]

THE CAROLINIAN
POST OFFICE BOX 4767 · RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27602 · PHONE [illegible]
GEORGE H. EVER, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

-V-

in being circulated in High Point. They are
paying lackeys by the dozen to find out
who writes the paper because the paper
is constructed and written in a revolutionary
manner. The rhetoric in the paper is
really right on. The high Point Black
Panthers are writing the paper, and they are
harassing brothers telling them if trouble
breaks out in High Point how many shots
they will get. Simultaneously, we don't know
who writes the paper, but 2 issues have
received by the mayor already. The last issue
told of the 10 lackeys of the week. This week
got the boothickers uptight. Some of them were
surprised to the friends of the people
because they gave some niggers the impression
"that" was chate to arrest you but this is our
job", and be a nice nigger and maybe

[illegible] and you have the [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] are also trying to fool the people into becoming lackeys. Paint a few houses and windows white, build for illegal use of urbanism. The low income people tell the people that they will reduce charges on their [illegible] if they inform them who walks urbanism. The people who've talked to understand that a pig is a pig and must be identified as the solution not the problem. The pigs in High Point are trying to pacify the people in all types of fashions. They brag about High Point and what a lovely furniture city it is. High Point really hasn't had any racial violence since I've been living there. (Last 9 yrs.) The pigs think High Point can't be [illegible] size. They're wrong just because it's in the menstrual cycle; it doesn't mean that High Point [illegible] the lionness from the block and the people in the community toward [illegible] rise up and

[illegible] of our country
[illegible] is to unify our "[illegible]" and welcome
in the earth, with the world.

Revolution in my lifetime

O.C. & M.E.

High Point, N.C.

Rich Powell
SOBU
Box 10826
Greensboro N.C.

Would you please have this published in your school newspaper.

It has been proven through the social practice of the administrative apparatus of this present government, ever since it's inception one-hundred ninety-four years ago that it has been non-functional for Black people in particular and poor oppressed people in general. All minority ethnic groups, Blacks, Peurto Ricans, Mexicans, Indians, Red and yellow people, all poor oppressed people in general in this country find themselves excluded from all decision making processes. There is no doubt that justice and peace belong to those able to afford it, those people within a particular class, the ruling class.

For too long in the past we have haphazardly sat by and watched others, that didn't have our interest at heart, determine our destiny. We have allowed them to send us to wars we know nothing about as to the reason why or for what. We have let this non-representative government so far as poor people are concerned, to deny us our human right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness. Repressive measures against the people that violate their most basic rights of privacy are being infringed upon by constitutional amendments such as the "No Knock Bill", Preventive Detention" and excessive bail (ransom) are other repressive measures that people are subjected to in the realms of the present Constitution.